1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

his father's lodge, where his seat had always been kept for him. With his own folks he stayed as long as he wished, leaving it generally as soon as he decided to live alone—a decision that was usually reached as soon as he had one child or a number of children. However, he did not always build his own lodge, especially in the olden times, when it was customary for those Winnebago who lived in permanent villages to occupy the long gable-roofed lodges, that frequently were large enough to house as many as 40 people. In such cases a man and his family generally alternated between his parents-in-law and his own parents.

Adoption

Adoption of individuals was quite frequent in former times. As far as the writer knows, however, it always took the form of replacing of a deceased child by some other child physically resembling the one lost. I do not know whether there were any additional considerations if the child adopted happened to be a prisoner. As the name for adoption (*wanayze'rek'inayk*) indicates, it is closely connected with the common belief in reincarnation, meaning either the exchange of one spirit for another or the replacing of the spirit. A special feast could be given for adoption or it could be done at one of the regular feasts. As the child adopted was often the "friend" (*hiteak'ā'ro*) of the deceased and in any case had parents living, presents were always given to his parents.

Perhaps a better idea of the nature of adoption can be obtained from the following few words of an informant:

> When a child dies, then the father mourns for many years, and if during that time he happens to meet a child that resembles his dead child he asks to be allowed to adopt him. The parents of the child can hardly object to such a request.[1]

[1] There is no doubt in my mind that quite a number of parents believe that such a person is really their reincarnated child.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

on his fingers, and earrings in his ears. The body is then put in the casket. 764

By the time this is all finished the gravediggers have about completed their work. Then the mourners blacken their faces with charcoal and the corpse is taken up by the man to whom this duty is delegated. The mourners follow behind, weeping. Thus they proceed to the grave. When they get there the corpse is laid in the grave. Then the chief mourner steps across the center of the grave and the others do the same. When they start back, they are told under no circumstance to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. [765]

The grave is then filled in.

Then the overseer goes around to the various people in the village and invites them all to come to (the wake). The brave men and warriors are especially welcomed. 765

The mourners prepare food and when the sun goes down the chief mourner takes a stick made of hard wood and lights it and carries it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It is supposed to be still burning when placed there. After this is done (the man returns) and the overseer gets everything in readiness for the feast. When all is ready the chief mourner speaks as follows:

All my relatives who are sitting here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could justify you to come here and honor me, yet being relatives of mine, you have (in the kindness of your hearts) come to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for my child (the dead person), and tobacco is also handy, all of which the attendant when he is ready will pass around to all and give to whomsoever he pleases. That is why I am greeting you. 765 539 775

Then the attendant takes the water and tobacco and gives it to the one who is to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rises and greets all those present and speaks as follows:

To-night we are greeting you not for the sake of jollification, but because we are afflicted (with grief). Now, it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action, yet even I, they tell me, can do it, provided no worthier person can be found. They[1] even tell me that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way in his journey (to spirit land).[2] For that reason I will speak to the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in one hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you, that likewise, you are waiting for your food to take on your journey. However, four nights you will have to remain here.

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[1] This and what follows is the customary ceremonial modesty.

[2] It is believed that if the chief speaker makes a mistake or exaggerates while thus addressing the spirit of the deceased, the latter will lose his way in his journey to spirit land.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

765 539 775 Now here are these things, and in return we ask you to act as mediator (between the spirits and us). You have made us long for you, and therefore do you see to it that all these things that belonged to you and that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—such as victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, and life—that all these you leave behind for us to enjoy. This do you ask for as you travel along. This also I ask of you, do not cause us to follow you soon; do not cause your brothers any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you.

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that he drinks a little water and passes it around again. It is only after the pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over, the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before a warrior and tells him to talk to the spirit and tell him the route to take.

Then the warrior rises and speaks as follows:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy (as in the case of an ordinary feast), but because it is the custom to do it. Now I will tell the soul of the departed one the route to take and the care he must observe in his journey. I shall tell them (the ghosts) over whom I have control to guide him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate when I relate my war exploits, but tell only those things that really happened to me. It has been said that if, in talking, I tell falsehoods the spirit of the departed would stumble on the road.[1] So, therefore, I will tell only the truth, and I will tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all the obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits, but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to guide him. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food and fire, they will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

765 539 Then he begins an account of his war exploits. He tells all that he did in detail. Sometimes the account of a war exploit would last two to three hours. When he is through, the people retire for the night.

For three nights they do this and every evening they place a burning ember at the grave. This is supposed to be taken by the spirit of the dead man on his journey.

The fourth night they invite all the brave men in the neighborhood and everybody else. They prepare plenty of food, and the relatives of the mourners bring objects for the mourning games and try to comfort the mourners as best they can. The fourth night, likewise, they place a burning ember at the grave of the dead man.

As soon as the attendant prepares the food the chief mourner gets up and speaks as follows:

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you,[2] but I was in trouble, and all my relatives have come to comfort me. I feel strengthened by their actions. You all have asked me to live (not to succumb to my sorrows),

[1] It is believed that a warrior is in control of the spirits of all the people he has killed. His function at the wake is to put these spirits at the disposal of the dead man, to guide him, and to take care of him.

[2] I. e., if I were a great man and this were a ceremony of rejoicing, then a greeting would mean something. This is another example of ceremonial modesty.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

and I shall try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now this is the last night, and I am glad that it is a good night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say anything funny I hope that you will not hold back your laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to, for I will feel all the better if you do it. This is what I want you to remember. I greet you all who are present here. 765 539

Then the one who is to address the spirit speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this (wake) for a purpose, much as we would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the route he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not everyone can talk to spirits (spirits of departed people); not everyone can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to speak to them and handed it down to my father, and he in turn gave it to me. Now I will tell the spirit of the departed the right road to take and I will not cause him to stumble. I shall breathe upon the spirit of the departed, and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this sound it is a sign that they will die soon. Now all of you say it. 765 539 775

Then he says "ho-o" and "ho-o," and all join with him in repeating it.

Then he speaks again (addressing the spirit of the departed):

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across (some obstacle). Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind you on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, "Grandson, what is your name?" This you must tell her. Then (you must say), "Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings (i. e., the pipe, tobacco, and food)." Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, "Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war and honors. That was my desire as I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth." This is what they asked. This likewise they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from the earth.

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* The deceased had apparently died young, and what he desires is that the difference between his years and the normal length of life be distributed among his relatives. He means not only the actual years but also whatever he would have accomplished in those years.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

765 539 "They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks, grandmother." "Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you."

775 Then she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, "Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives (who died before you) will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road (to take). If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However (you need not worry) for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter. Ho-o-o, ha-a-a.

764 [115 614] GENERALIZED DESCRIPTION OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND WAKE

Informant, member of Bear clan. When a person died a member of his friend (*Aitcukdro*) clan was immediately sent for, who took charge of the body and of all the funeral arrangements. The overseer dressed the deceased in his best clothes and all his finery, for it was said that he was going on a long journey. Then some kinsman painted the dead man's face with the clan markings and delivered a speech to the corpse. When he concluded the clan songs were sung and the body was carried to the grave. All the mourners marched in single file. After the body had been buried or placed on a scaffold, as the case might be, a post was placed at the head of the grave, and the warriors among the mourners counted their coups and drew representations of their victories on the posts. [775] The purpose of the warriors in counting coups at the grave was to put at the disposal of the deceased the spirits of all the enemies they had killed, and also to give him additional strength for overcoming the obstacles on the road to the spirit land. Food was placed on the little shelf in front of the window of the grave-house, to be used by the spirit during the four days that he hovered around this earth before departing on his journey. Then a light was lighted and finally, toward evening, all departed for their homes, returning as they had come, in single file,

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 [776] [782]

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. [431] [276] [775]

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, *hu'ɛu*. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the [775] [431] [525] [524]

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

765 mourner's hair, give him presents, and tell him that he is now free to cease mourning and to marry if he wishes.

In former times the period of mourning is supposed to have lasted four years.

[302] When a person is in mourning he always cuts his hair short and does not comb his hair. In former times people often mutilated themselves by cutting off either entire fingers or finger joints.

[304] The overseer always takes all the belongings of the deceased, but he must give the latter's relatives an equal amount of new material.

Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(first version)

764 184 614 [615] Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the clan dies they send after a man of the Thunderbird clan who is to speak to the corpse, paint it, and give him a war club to take along with him (to the land of the spirits). Then they go after a man from the lower phratry to bury him, for these clans (of the lower phratry) belong on earth and they have the right to dig into the ground and bury people.

When the one who is to be the general overseer arrives and arranges everything, he prepares the corpse, putting a sack of tobacco in one hand and a war club in the other. Then he paints him. He paints the forehead with a red and a black mark and paints the lower part of the face to the end of the nose with scattered dots. He paints the jaw red and he makes a red mark across the mouth and the throat. Then he speaks as follows:

[775 539] You have departed at this (young) age. You have taken your relatives by surprise and have left them a long part of your life (i. e., you have lived but a small part of your apportioned share of years). As you go to spirit land, you will find on the road many feathers, many good plants, and many good kinds of clay, scattered around, the blue clay, the red clay, and the white clay. You will also find the sweet-smelling plants and good life. For all these things do you ask. If anything comes across your path, throw it behind you without looking around. In four days you will depart and objects with which to mediate between us and the spirits will soon be furnished you. For four nights your people will tell you what to do and when they hear you singing on the road they will know that it is you. There (in spirit land) you will go to live and the songs that I will sing you will sing as you travel on your road.

Then he sings (the four clan songs).

When the gravediggers are finished they take the body and carry it to the grave, the mourners following. They take the body to the grave and there lower it.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Thunderbird Clan

(second version)

Informant, member of the clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan dies, the clansmen discuss what is to be done for the spirit

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

of the deceased. Then they go and call the leader of their band and he comes and addresses the body as follows: 764 184 614

You are about to leave all your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You will proceed on your road, turning to your left after you start until you come to him who is in charge of the spirits. Whomever you see him, the following request do we wish you to make of him, namely, that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in your life on this earth. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you some to take along. As you go along the road you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right, for that road leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will have a complete suit of clothes and he will look terror-inspiring. He will smoke with you and then you may speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left the earth, the people told me to ask you to point out to me which road I should travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and after a while you will come to a fire-girdle. The man who is in charge of it will have a complete suit of clothes just like the first man. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke with you. Then make your request, namely, to be permitted to pass, and he will grant it. As you go along after that you will come to a round lodge in which you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will be thankful and smoke it, and then ask her to let you pass and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now be white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary, you will have complete possession of all your senses. Then you will come to where he who is in control of spirits sits. Go to him and point your pipe toward him. Then when he is smoking it, ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and, if he takes it and smokes it, then you must say, "Earthmaker, my father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." And he will answer, "You have done well, my son." 764 184 614 539 775

The informant then skips to the opening night of the four nights' wake. The address to the spirit that follows is probably delivered by the chief mourner before the formal opening of the wake. 765 184 614

Address to the spirit.[1]—Ha ho-o-o-o, I want you to listen, you who have become like a spirit. You have made them of your relatives who remained behind on earth miserable and lonely. They have given you much food to take along with you and they have given you a pipe and some tobacco so that you may offer them to the spirits you meet on your road and make some requests of them. The first request that they wish you to make is to ask the spirits to distribute to your clan all the sorrowful surprises which would have fallen to your share had you lived your normal quota of years; and that all the food, etc., that you have not used be bestowed upon those whom you left behind on earth. The last request you should make of them on the road is to pray that a long time may elapse before any of your relatives traverse this road. 539 775

Now follows a description of the obstacles to be met on the road.

When you reach Earthmaker, offer him your pipe, and if he accepts it speak to him as follows: "Grandfather, as I was leaving the earth my relatives asked me to request of you humbly that you bestow upon the classmates that I left behind me all that I would have accomplished had I lived longer. Now this is what I wished to ask of you, grandfather." Then you should speak: "Ha ho-o-o-o."

[1] Spirit here is ownqi'ka, spirit, deity, not ownqi'kaka', ghost, unincorporeal embodiment. What is meant is that the deceased has become like one of the spirits, in that he lives, enjoys remembrances, etc., without at the same time having any corporeal existence.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

765 184 614 715 Then all the other people answer *ha-ho-o-o-o*. Now someone lights a pipe and passes it around so that everyone can take a puff. All take a puff, children and women as well as men. After that water is passed around. Then all eat. A little portion of everything served is put aside and thrown out for the spirit to eat. Then a warrior, the person who has charge of the wake, speaks:

[539] I greet you all. I first wish to pour some of the tobacco that you have offered me for our grandfather who is in control of war-giving powers. (Probably the Thunderbirds are meant.) I will tell the spirit as carefully as I can all that I know about the road he must travel. My father impressed upon me very earnestly the need of being very truthful in speaking to the spirit of one recently deceased, for if I were a bad man I would cause the spirit to stumble. For that reason I always feel that I ought not to speak very much whenever I am called upon to talk.

Then a warrior was called upon to tell of his war exploits. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone, and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up his body and mutilated him in such a way that he could not be identified; and how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Thus they lighted the road for the spirit (i. e., held the Four Nights' Wake).

The second and third nights were just the same as the first, only that different warriors spoke and different war exploits were told. They are very proud of their war exploits and they would try to tell of their bravest deeds, those that had been most dangerous and which had required the greatest heroism. When the mourners listen to the narrative of such an exploit they become strengthened. All those people on whom the warrior had counted first coup and all those whom he had killed would carry the light for the spirit of the deceased. Those on whom he had counted second coup were commanded to clear the road, and a woman whom the warrior had captured was ordered to carry along the food. The ceremonies of the fourth night are the same as those of the first three nights.

Death and Funeral Customs of the Bear Clan[1]

764 184 614 [163] Informant, member of the clan. Mr. J. M. died in June, 1911. In accordance with the old Winnebago customs, the first individual to be notified of the death was Mr. J. F., a member of the Wolf clan. To Mr. F. fell the lot of taking charge of all the funeral rites—dressing the deceased, laying his body in the casket, burying him, and, finally, conducting the elaborate funeral wake.

[1] This is practically a reprint of "Description of a Winnebago Funeral," by Lowie and Radin, Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. 15, no. 2, 1913.

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

764 184 614 539 During the morning Mrs. R. came in and combed the hair of the deceased's wife and gave her some presents, telling her at the same time that she hoped that she would dry her tears as a sign of appreciation of the gifts. Another person came in in the morning bringing a pair of leggings and a blanket for the deceased. He also brought the casket. While the body of the deceased was being prepared this same person spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. If my nephews will come here and sit near me, I will talk to them.

Then the sons of the deceased came and sat near their mother and sisters and the man continued:

My sister, it is said that it is best for a person not to weep; and that a widow should not mourn too much, for then the people would make fun of her; so well as for the fact that having children she must for their sake look forward to life and live for them. And it is also said that we should keep up this mourning for at least four years. Now there is nothing amusing about what I am going to say (although it may sound so) — namely, that we should not cry on such an occasion as to-day, but, on the contrary, keep up a good spirit. I do not mean that I am glad that my brother-in-law is dead. But if you were to weep some one might come in and say that it behooves you more to show him your teeth than your tears. They mean that you should smile.

And again it is said that one should not cry, for when a body is laid in the ground there is no more hope of its ever returning to this earth again. My nephew, the one that had been advising you in your daily affairs, is gone and you are left alone to look after yourself, your little brothers, and your mother; and therefore I want you all to love one another and remember your mother.

While we were eating C. P. came in and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. It is good that you all have come here and are comforting this house of mourning. It is good that J. H. has brought a casket and clothing for the deceased and food for the wake. And indeed he has also promised a hog for the feast. I know that he did not do this in order to have some one speak of it in public, but how can I refrain from expressing my thanks? My brother also came with the intention of furnishing some of these things, but inasmuch as J. H. has furnished them beforehand he placed ten dollars in the hands of the wife of the deceased. He did not, however, tell her for what purpose he gave her the money and I therefore take the liberty of telling her that the gift is meant for anything that she may desire to buy. Now, my relatives, this is no time for happiness, but I am glad, nevertheless, that so many have come and I am thankful for what you have done. I greet you all. [431]

Then the casket was put in the spring wagon and taken to the Winnebago Cemetery. When we got there the casket was lowered into the grave. When this was over, A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are present, I greet you. This many of you have followed my son to his last resting place. Further than this place he will not walk in this life. Truly this many of you have felt sorry for him. All the rites that were taught me in this connection I have already performed. I have given the deceased the emblem (i. e., the whittled stick known as *waxaxi'ixixi*) and the material to talk with (the tobacco), so that he may plead for us, his relatives, when he gets to the end of the journey, that we may live the life he fell short of upon this earth, and that he may [775]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

765 184 614 539 [775]

tread firmly upon us as he walks to the spirit land. All that I know I have said before. I was taught nothing that I was to do or say at this place except that we should step over the grave just as our forefathers did when they originated. They were holy and they entered this life on a perfect day just as this day to-day, and, inasmuch as they were holy, all the ground that they touched was holy. It is for that reason that we should step over the grave.

Then we stepped over the grave. After that we went to our homes.

The same evening the wake began. When all the invited guests had arrived and were seated, the feast was spread before them. Then A. W. spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that this many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony, but are simply following up what our forefathers have learned to be true and good. And, as it is said that we should not weep aloud, therefore you will not hear any of us making any utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently should anyone come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worse of us. And now I am ready to turn over the tobacco and water to J. F. Thus I express my thanks to you all that are present.

Then J. F. took the tobacco and water and spoke as follows:

Relatives, all that are seated here, I greet you. It is good that so many of you have come to our humble affair and, as our ancestors said that this was the proper way to do, so I am glad that it was given to me to handle the corpse, as I am certain that I will be strengthened by it. I will now pass the tobacco to Mr. X. He is a brave man and he will light the pipe and pass the water before we eat and after supper he will tell the deceased a route to the spirit land. Now I thank you and I greet you.

Then the brave man took the tobacco and filled the pipe and after taking a few puffs from it, passed it to the left and it thus went round, each person taking a puff from the pipe and a sip from the pitcher of water. Then the feast began. When it was over and all the dishes were cleared away, and everyone was properly seated, then the brave man greeted them again:

Relatives, I greet you. As we are not creating anything new, and as our ancestors knew it to be good, and as it is said that if anyone exaggerates a story in a case like this it will cause the soul to stumble, therefore I will tell my war exploits to my relative (the deceased) exactly as I remember them. I greet you all.

He then proceeded to tell his war exploits. When he had finished he again spoke as follows:

Relatives that are present, I greet you. As I said before, I do not wish to cause the soul of my recently deceased relative to stumble and I have tried to tell my story as accurately as I could. It is said that the souls of the ones killed in a battle are at the mercy of the victor, and I therefore command the souls of the ones I have killed to lead and guide my relative safely through the spirit land. I greet you all. [775]

He then passed the tobacco to another brave man present who in his turn greeted those present and related his war exploits. After two warriors had told their war exploits they stopped for the night, 765 184 614

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

765 to continue on the second night. The second and third nights were
184 the same as the first. About the evening of the fourth night, when
614 all the people invited were present, A. W. spoke in the same strain as on the first night, and when he had finished he passed the management of the feast to J. F. The latter then passed it to F. F. now lit the pipe and passed it around, together with the water. Then all partook of the feast. After supper A. W. reported all the donations that were made to them, naming each giver and the amount of the gift and thanking them and praising them for their generous gifts. Then F. told the following story:

THE JOURNEY OF THE SOUL TO SPIRIT LAND[1]

539 Ha! Ha! Are you all ready? I am going to speak about the four nights during
●775 which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing
765 the sacrificial tobacco in the rear part of the lodge for you. As you go home do not look back. Before you are far away you will come to a lodge. You may enter this lodge. A door faces the rising sun and a door faces the setting sun. As you enter you will find a woman on your right. Go and sit down opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did they say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over?" "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts (in leaving them), and that they hoped that none would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make four requests:

"First. I was to ask for life, that the flames from the lodge fires might go straight upward. Yet they were satisfied if at my departure the flames swayed to and fro.

"Second. Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives should hereafter not be deprived of.

"Third. They also mentioned nuts, all manner of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They commanded me to make a request for all things that exist in the earth.

"Fourth. That if anyone has a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side. Now, my great-grandmother, this is the number of requests they commanded me to make."

"My great-grandchild, although you are young, you are wise. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. Now, my grandchild, as to those four requests you put to me, it shall be as you say. The nuts and herbs you have requested shall be given you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, the grasses they will possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested though you shall be given them. Here is the food set before you in this wooden bowl."

Then you are to answer to her, "My grandmother, this was what my relatives longed for. These are the things I was to leave behind me for those on earth."

Now, be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you. For then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on this earth. Many who are older than you have eaten all that I gave them, my great-grandchild. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left in the dish shall grow on the face of the earth. Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to

[1] Obtained from Henry Cloud.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

the setting sun. On your way stands the bulge of Hereegu'nina, and his fire. Those who have come (the souls of brave men) from the land of the souls to take you back will touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints of the day on the blue sky before you. These footprints represent the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into the places where they have stepped and plant your feet into their footprints, but be careful you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far, you will come into a forest of wa'ke'je broken by open prairies here and there. Here, in this beautiful country, these souls whose duty it is to gather other souls will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will take you safely home. As you enter the bulge of the Earthmaker you must hand to him the sacrificial offerings. Here the inquiry that took place in the first bulge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then he will say to you, "All that your grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you. Its door will be facing the mid-day sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Inasmuch, then, as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we now do the same."

At this word all those assembled at the wake shout, *Ho-ha!*

Then a warrior told his war experiences and after thanking the people passed the tobacco to the next warrior, who in turn related his war experiences.

The amount of gifts was then figured out and they tried to arrange matters so that the warriors were through with their stories about midnight. At midnight games were played with the donations as prizes. The gifts generally consisted of twelve 3-yard pieces of calico or money equal to that amount of calico; twelve strings of beads, etc. These were the gifts used as prizes. Other donations of food were made for the four nights' feast. A. W was in charge of the games and he likewise designated what games were to be played. As they generally play the games the deceased was fond of so in this case they played the moccasin game and cards. After the donations were exhausted and the games finished a brave man was called upon to give a war whoop in thankfulness for the sun, and also to all the spirits above and below. Then A. W. greeted and thanked the guests again for coming, and the wake was over.

In olden times the widow was supposed to continue single for four years. She is strongly admonished, nevertheless, not to continue in low spirits, and to consider herself free to act in any way that will make her happy. She is told to play games or dance, or in fact do anything that will make her forget her sorrow, and she is told that no one will hold her conduct against her as disrespectful to the deceased. As this admonition is given to her by the sister or aunt of the deceased's husband, the only people who could properly reproach her—namely, the members of her husband's clan—it has all the more weight. The prohibition of weeping is further strengthened by the fact that it is customary to say that any woman who weeps too profusely at the death of her husband is in reality thinking, in

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

limb.[13] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, 867
or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil 554
an animal with a head [14] you will always be able to eat.

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your 867
war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the 765
soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerat- 554
ing any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[15] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise.

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will 867
not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul 721
and it will always be happy.[15] If you should ever desire to return 775
to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle.

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, 867
so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that 785
you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your 787
children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry.

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[13] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

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[14] That is, wherever people give a *Winter Feast*. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

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[15] At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes vainglorious, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling."

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[16] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that in him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he can and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible.

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1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

their clan names is *Wave*. They first appeared as wolves and later on they became humans. After swimming to the shore they lay on their backs to dry themselves; and that also is a name, a female name, *She-who-spreads-herself-out-to-dry*, and another name is *He-who-comes-up-first*. When they became human they built themselves a lodge and lived in it, but they had no fire. Then the Thunders came down and alit on a big oak tree that stood near their lodge. At first the Thunders were afraid of the Wolf people and they would not enter their lodge. That is why we have a name *He-who-is-afraid*. They asked the Thunders to come into their lodge and they had great difficulty in persuading them. After they entered the Wolf lodge they wanted to go home again immediately, but the Wolf clan people asked them to stay over for four days. From that fact a name has originated, *One-who-is-waited-for-by-the-Thunders*. The Thunders stayed, but not in the lodge of the Wolf people. They built themselves one just outside their door. Then they built a fire in it. After the four days were over the Thunders went home.

When a Wolf clansman dies the relatives paint his forehead blue (pl. 46) and the soul of the deceased is supposed to go west, and it never looks back as it goes on its journey, as this would be an indication of its longing for something in this world, and it should not do that. When the soul gets to the spirit home the relatives already there would ask the newcomer, "What did our relatives say when you were about to come?" And the deceased would answer, "They said that they would not come for some time."

The food that is prepared at the four nights' wake is supposed to last them forever.

This is the end of the story of the creation.

SECOND VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

All people claim to have come from some animal, and all are supposed to come from Earthmaker.

Four married wolves had a lodge in the middle of the ocean. They had four colors. The wolves all had children. One of them had 10, and the youngest one of these 10 is the one that came to this earth. When they came to this island, the first thing they saw was the footprint of the bear, and they said, "Our friend has gone by." There (at the place of gathering) they saw human beings and they liked their ways. Therefore they went home again and asked to come to earth and live with the human beings, and they were given permission to do so. Wherefore the two (man and wife) came here again the second time. When they were about to come everything was calm, and there were no waves on the ocean. They started out swimming, and they caused two waves to go before them. When they came to the humans they both got married. When they came to this land

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[a]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters.

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[b] approved of my coming. They blessed me. Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[a] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the snakes.

[b] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

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from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him. Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed, nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel, from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The [782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
●775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
745 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hawk's, or Those-who-cry-like-hawks.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[a]

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellowmen as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again.

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me.

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")? For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[b] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman.

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[a] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, vaguely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[b] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagos. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagos accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

787 778 [776] warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[*] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[*] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex^{u}'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a warbundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 776 777 [775] I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I know, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[*] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

[*] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[*] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be secured if the proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagos that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chances of failure and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for their caution.

[*] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to become reincarnated as a human being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or—and this would be the more common form—a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

776 In the fall of the year in which the man said this the people, as
787 usual, went out hunting and the man got lost and was forced to camp out in the wilderness overnight. So he built a fire and sat alongside of it. Suddenly he saw a man coming toward him. As soon as the stranger came up to him he took a seat on the opposite side of the fireplace. Then the stranger said, "I am the one whom you threatened to kick off this earth whenever you met him. You, furthermore, boasted that I could not kill you." Then he pointed his finger in a line with the man's heart. But the man remained seated near the fireplace without moving. Then he did this again, yet the man still remained in his former position. Then the third time he did it and said, "In the center of the heart." The man, however, remained seated just as before. Then the stranger exclaimed, "Who are you anyhow?" and pointed his finger at him. But the man did not move. Then the stranger (Disease-giver) pleaded with the man to die so that it might not be said that he had failed in the "mission" for which he had been created. He promised the man that if he would oblige him and die he could come back to earth again within four days. Finally the man consented. He went home and told his folks that he was going to a certain place to
787 die for the space of four days and that they should, under no con-
● 776 ditions, go to see him there, for in that case he would surely die. Then he dressed himself in his best clothes and went to the place where he was to meet Disease-giver. (He rested his head against a tree and died.) However, on the third day his wife could not resist the desire to see him, so she went to the place where her husband was leaning against the tree. Then he really died. After his death a red spot was visible upon his forehead.[a]

Methods of Bringing the Spirits into Relation with Man

785 *Fasting.*—Fasting has been discussed before. There are two things to be remembered in connection with it—first, that it is a method of superinducing a religious feeling; and, secondly, that this religious feeling in turn is bound up with the desire for preserving and perpetuating socio-economic life values. Among the Winnebago the desirability of the conditions superinduced by fasting lay not so much in the emotional pleasure it gave, although this is not to be underestimated, as in the belief which the shamans had developed, that such a state was essential for placing people in a position enabling them to overcome certain crises in life, which it was reasonable to believe might take place.

787 *Mental concentration.*—To the religiously inclined Winnebago the
153 efficacy of a blessing, of a ceremony, etc., depended upon what they

[a] This is not supposed to be a myth but the real experience of a man named James Smith.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

761 whom explained, is laid at the door of some evil man. Death at old
776 age is clearly taken for granted. Where explanations are advanced,
[754] they are always for the deaths of individuals before their time, or at least before what the Winnebago consider their time.

761 The Winnebago look at death in two ways as being, first, a different kind of consciousness from that possessed in life, and, secondly, as being a cessation of certain kinds of intercourse between individuals. Death is regarded as a "stumbling," after which the individual goes right on as if nothing had happened. He does not know he is dead until he sees his body. The individual is divested of all his corporeal investment and desires. In the myth of the journey of the soul to spirit land the ghost is not entirely a spirit until the old woman
● [775] whom he meets brains him, thus, by destroying the seat of consciousness, depriving him of all corporeality and carnal desires. The ghost then becomes a spirit, in some cases of the same type as the true spirits.

761 Although the Winnebago know that after death they will never see
775 people again, they do not feel that all kinds of intercourse have ceased. The deceased may appear to a living individual in dreams or visions; he may talk to him or make his presence felt in a multitude of ways; and since, as we pointed out before, the test of existence is the consciousness of some kind of contact, such intercourse may be of a very intense type.

This lack of a feeling of discontinuity between the living and the dead is emphasized by the Winnebago concept of after-life and reincarnation.

775 After-life is but life on earth, only idealized. Everything is provided. All carnal desires have been done away with and men and women spend their time in one long round of enjoyment and bliss. Something of the fear of ghosts lingers here, however, for when living individuals try to reach spirit land—and a number of such instances are mentioned in the myths, particularly in the origin myth of the Ghost dance—these spirits are likely to be harmful.

By the belief in reincarnation the Winnebago entirely bridge the gulf between life and death. In other words, we seem to have a cycle consisting of life (consciousness), after-life (unconsciousness from a corporeal viewpoint), and life (reincarnation). To live again is the greatest desire of the Winnebago, and practically every secret society holds this out as the lure to the outsider. If you join the Medicine Lodge you will become reincarnated, they say, and the other ritualistic organizations make the same claim. But not only by joining an organization is it possible to be reincarnated; if you live an upright life, if you die on the battlefield, reincarnation also awaits you.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The author was fortunate enough to obtain an account by a well-known Winnebago shaman of his various reincarnations. 159 T75 539

T. C.'s account of his two reincarnations.—I once lived in a party that numbered about 20 camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although one not large enough to handle a gun, a war party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

I (i. e., my ghost) was taken to the place where the sun sets (the west). There I lived with an old couple. This place (spirit land) is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere, all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While at that place I thought I would come back to earth again, and the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had, as a matter of fact, only thought of it, yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go, but you must ask the chief first."

Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge (upon the people who killed your relatives and you)."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained, conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.

At that place I was brought up and I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war, and I certainly took revenge for the death of myself and my relatives, that being the purpose for which I had come to earth.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in, and I died the second time. I felt no more pain at death, then, than I had felt the first time.

This time I was buried in the manner used at that time. I was wrapped in a blanket and then laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There in the grave I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there, some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the setting of the sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but in reality I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves there. They have all sorts of dances

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

139
775 of a lively kind all the time. From that place we went up to the
539 place where Earthmaker lived and there I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too, and, indeed, I was like one of them.

From that place I came to this earth again for the third time, and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

774 *The concept of the soul.* This concept is not clearly developed as a
775 separate entity among the Winnebago on account of their strong belief in reincarnation. Their notion of the soul is merged in that of the noncorporeal ghost who eventully comes to earth again.

THE COSMOLOGICAL IDEAS

772 The cosmological ideas are of two types those that are clearly of
773 a folkloristic origin and those that have been developed by shamanistic reinterpretations. To the former class belong all the creative acts of the tricksters and culture heroes, like *Wak'djapk'aga* and Hare, and to the latter the systematic creation of the world by Earthmaker.

What is probably the oldest form of the Winnebago cosmological notions is that concerned with the general destruction of the bad spirits by Hare and by such spirits as the Thunderbirds, Morning Star, etc., and the removal of obstacles. Often the present characteristics of the earth are formed accidentally, as, for instance, the origin of the valleys, mountains, and lakes, as given in the myth of "Holy One." Even in the thoroughly remodeled general origin myth, Earthmaker is not conceived of as having purposely created the world.

772 The Winnebago believed that there were four worlds, one beneath the other, presided over, respectively, by Earthmaker, Trickster (*Wak'djapk'aga*), Turtle, and Hare. Hare rules over the world on which man lives. There seems to be some confusion as to who rules over the last earth, because it is also definitely stated that Traveler (a Water-spirit) is in control of it.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

159 he never did it over again. *Herecgunina* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded: how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
●776 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy—i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
776 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago ceremonies were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[177] [775 177] [776] [775]

"This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Earthmaker has all the characteristics of a supreme deity. He is conceived of as formless and as never being visible to man. He is a benevolent deity, but apart from the interest he manifested in creating the world and all that exists upon it and in sending the great Transformer heroes, Trickster, Turtle, and Hare, he has taken little active interest in the affairs of humankind. It is only as a tour de force that one can receive blessings from him. An instance of the kind will be found on page 291,[1] which is to be taken not as a myth but as, at most, a true fasting experience, which has been cast into a literary form. [776] [787]

The conception of Earthmaker we have been discussing is found most prominently developed in the rituals and the ritualistic myths. In how far it represents an exoteric point of view it would be difficult to determine now. A study of the nonritualistic myths, however, makes it seem plausible that Earthmaker, among the people in general, was the vague Waxõp'i'ŋ Xe'tera, Great Spirit, typical of the woodland area; and what appears to strengthen this view is the fact that there exists, side by side with him, that other great spirit common among the woodland peoples, the Great Bad Spirit, known among the Winnebago as Hereegũ'nįga, of doubtful etymology. The coexistence of these two spirits and their equal rank comes out clearly in the cycle of the Twins. The ritualistic myths have attempted to interpret this old Hereegũ'nįga as Earthmaker's first attempt to create man, which ended in failure. He thereupon threw him away, but Hereegũ'nįga imitated the creations of the former and thus brought into existence the many evil spirits that infest the earth. [773]

Only in the older traditions is this conception of the dual deities still to be found. In practical life the more systematic conception developed in the rituals has entirely displaced it, just as the older conception of the Transformers as heroes working in obedience to no one and changing the world until it assumed its present appearance out of mere whim, has given place to a well-ordered creation in which the Transformers play the rôle of deities saving the human race at the command of Earthmaker.

Thunderbirds (Wak'a'ndja). They are always represented as appearing to men as bald-headed individuals wearing a wreath made of the branches of the arbor vitæ. They are in control of almost all the powers that man can imagine, but they generally bless him with success on the warpath and with a long and honorable life. They are represented as having a spirit village in the west and as intermarrying with the Night Spirits who have a village in the east. Powerful shamans and warriors not infrequently claim that they are merely reincarnated Thunderbirds. Such is the claim of the man who is [775]

[1] Cf. also Journ. Amer. Folklore, vol. 26, pp. 340 ff., 1913.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, I am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation-lodge just as you see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you." You will never be in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.' [782]

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djôšenagiwi'ąxga. So he said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djôšenagiwiąxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit sang.)

THE FEAST

Host's speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[a] but whatever food he made for us all these things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[b] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle,"[c] [782]

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[a] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The principal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more. [776 775]

[b] I. e., that they might give an blessings.

[c] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that each guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[c] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

li Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Offering to Big Black Hawk.—"To the Big Black Hawk we also offer a handful of tobacco."

Offering to Disease-giver.—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I also send tobacco."

Offering to South Wind.—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

Offering to the Sun.—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

Host's first speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach of grandfather Tcîwoit'e'higa,[180] those he tried to learn. He fasted and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Tcîwoit'e'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[181] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[182] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[183] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it.

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our

[180] Literal translation, "Kills while the lodge."

[181] What Tcîwoit'e'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wa'ąjiŋga'ga).

[182] Before coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this cf. the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian" by myself in Amer. Jour. Folklore, XXVI, 1913.

[183] That is, become reincarnated.

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Bear, the doorway of his lodge; for the Wolf and Water-spirit, water. They were not obtained for all the clans. We indicated before that these "possessions" may have been primarily connected with the animals associated with the clan, upon which an additional socio-religious interpretation has been superimposed. The whole subject is, however, closely related to that of clan etiquette, for which no explanations can, of course, be given now.

The Clan Marks of Identification.

As if more fully to set off the social unit of the clan, there have come to be associated with it definite marks of identification, such as symbols, property marks, facial decorations, and songs.

The symbols of only two clans were obtained, although a number of other clans seem to have possessed them. There were the war club (*nąmąicc*) of the Thunderbird clan, and the peculiarly whittled stick (*namąxɪnixɪnɪ*) of the Bear clan. When a member of the Thunderbird clan died, a miniature war club was buried with him. Whether the *namąxɪnixɪnɪ* was buried with a member of the Bear clan, we do not know.

The property mark consisted of the effigy of the clan animal, and was woven on such objects as bags, tobacco pouches, etc. It was also frequently engraved on wooden objects. Its most peculiar uses, however, were the emblematic earthen effigy mounds, in the shape of the clan animal, which were erected near the habitation of each clan in the village and in the centre of clan squash fields, corn fields, etc.[1]

Associated with every clan are also four clan songs. These are supposed to be the four songs sung by the ancestors of each clan when they came to this earth. They are always sung on the death of an individual, and are supposed to serve as a mark of identification in the journey of the soul to the land of the spirits. The use of these songs is so intimately associated with death, that when some hardened offender,

[1] For a fuller discussion of these, see Radin, *Some Aspects of Winnebago Archæology*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 13, 1911, pp. 517-538.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§2. *My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud*

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[551]

My brother-in-law was named Thunder Cloud. It is said that he was living his third life as a human being.[8]

This is his account:

I once lived with a small group of Indians numbering about twenty camps. When I had grown up to be a lad, although still not large enough to handle a gun, a war-party attacked us and killed us all. I did not know, however, that I had been killed. I thought that I was running about as usual until I saw a heap of bodies on the ground and mine among them. No one was there to bury us, so there we lay and rotted.

My ghost was taken to the place where the sun sets. There I lived with an old couple. The land of the spirits is an excellent place and the people have the best of times. If you desire to go anywhere all that you have to do is to wish yourself there and you reach it. While there I thought I would like to come to the earth again so the old man with whom I was staying said to me, "My son, did you not speak about wanting to go to the earth again?" I had as

[8] The belief in reincarnation is very widespread among the Winnebago. It is generally believed that if any child resembles some deceased individual he is that individual reincarnated. Not every person, however, can become reincarnated. This is a privilege that belongs only to the more prominent people and to the members of the most sacred of Winnebago ceremonies, the Medicine Dance. [554] [996]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1928 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 975 a matter of fact only thought of it yet he knew what I wanted. Then he said to me, "You can go but you must ask our chief first." Then I went and told the chief of the village of my desire, and he said to me, "You may go and obtain your revenge upon the people who killed your relatives."

Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb but I was taken into a room. There I remained conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I was going through a door but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck by a sudden gust of cold air and I began to cry.

At the place where I was brought up I was taught to fast a great deal. Afterwards I did nothing but go to war and I certainly took my revenge for my own death and that of my relatives, thus justifying the purpose for which I had come to this earth again.

There I lived until I died of old age. All at once my bones became unjointed, my ribs fell in and I died a second time. I felt no more pain at death then that I had felt the first time.

[964] This time I was buried in the manner used then. I was wrapped in a blanket and laid in the grave. Sticks were placed in the grave first. There I rotted. I watched the people as they buried me.

As I was lying there some one said to me, "Come, let us go away." So then we went toward the land of the setting sun. There we came to a village where we met all the dead. I was told that I would have to stop there for four nights, but, in reality, I stayed there four years. The people enjoy themselves here. They have all sorts of

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them.

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon.

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit.

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came
756 from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to
Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first
*159 wife was still there. He found her there. "How is
756 this? I thought I saw you among the human beings
●775 and that is why I have come to see if you were still
787 here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why,
where was I to go? Here you left me when you went
away and here I have remained up to the present time.
What kind of woman is she who resembles me?
Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we
[754] let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that
if we didn't he would poison us.

*159 He told my brother that he had come from the place
756 where Earthmaker[9] lives, that Earthmaker had told
[776] him that he was to bring back with him four men.
[787] He was to examine them carefully, for they were to
[577] be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of change-
able ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative
tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

*159 My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons.
Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he
was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly
did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped
that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and
blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker.
Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was
always in his mind and he served him to the best of

[776] [9] Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

There my elder

*159 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
787 said that if any one fasted at such a place for four nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

We were told the following would happen to us. On the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
[776] still remained there, I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage to get through that night I would then on the following
● [775] night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. These ghosts would say things that might well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was told these ghosts would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be addressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is why these approached you first, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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[619] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[562] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

Crashing Thunder

My father had control of them and when
*159 787 788 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill). There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number of different animals. My father possessed only one arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the [789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed [776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to [782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 787 This was the power my father wished my brother to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision • [775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him but that they were unable to overtake him and were compelled to return back when my brother reached the earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

539
[927] his wife gone and the children dead. The bodies of the children had been placed in a standing posture against the door. Their lips were parted so that they might thus convey to their father on his return, the impression of smiling at him. This was an old custom and it was done because the enemy thought that, in this way, they could cause a father the most pain.

When the man returned and saw all this, he quietly attended to the fire, prepared his meal and then addressed the children saying to them, "Come, this is the last meal that we will take together." Then he pried open their mouths and put a piece of meat in their throats. After he had fed them, he himself sat down to eat. When he was through he painted his body in two colors, one side from head to foot white and the other from head to foot black. Then he again spoke to the children, "My dear children, I believe I can go on a few warpaths myself and
• [995] I shall endeavor to send your spirits to the spirit land as properly as I know how. I shall kill the people who have slain you and many more to boot."

Then he put some arrows in his quiver and buried his children. Starting out he soon found himself in a trail and by carefully scrutinizing the footprints he discovered those of his wife, and thus knew that she had been taken prisoner. Now he transformed himself into a ghost and following the trail, found the enemy not far away. He ran ahead of them and waited, and as one of the enemy who was carrying the medicine pouch approached, he gave a whoop and killed him, cutting off his head as far as the neck. Then he disappeared in the brush, hid the head and ran anead again. So he killed one after another, eight in all. When
[927] day dawned he returned to the camp with his eight heads and eight war clubs. These he first placed around his camp-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then 539
the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed.

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, [727]
whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the [782]
spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered.

The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land

In a certain village there once lived two young married 539
people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband 775
loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her.

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four 000

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Crashing Thunder

They all came to the Four

539 Nights' Wake and they all played the mourning games
775 with him. Then on the morning after the fourth night they
[765] all went home and the young man was left alone.

Immediately he made preparations to journey toward the west, for it is said that the soul of the deceased goes in that direction. In the direction of the west did he therefore chase the soul of his wife. As he trudged along the road he became worn out with exertion and fatigue and finally found it necessary to support himself on a cane. Even for that, however, his strength was not adequate and after a while all he could do was to barely creep along. Soon his knees were worn out from the incessant crawling and he tied some basswood bark around them. Thus he continued until all his strength deserted him. He was just strong enough to crawl to a pleasant-looking knoll. "This," he said, "is pleasant and nice and here I am willing to die." He rolled over until he finally reached the coveted spot and there lay awaiting death with his eyes closed.

Suddenly, much to his surprise, he heard some one talking to him, saying, "Come let us go home. I live here." The young man opened his eyes and looked about him and there before him he saw a fearful-looking person whose body was entirely covered with hair. The young man was unable to get up but the stranger spoke to him and said, "Come on!" At this the young man jumped up and followed him around the lodge. There the old man said to him, "Grandson, you are indeed in a most pitiable condition and I wish I could help you. But I do not know how. The little knowledge I possess I will tell you." Then he gave him something to eat and spoke to him again, "My son, you must keep straight on and at some distance from here you will come to a body of water over which you must jump. Then you must proceed straight on."

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

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Then the young man arose and continued on his journey. Soon he came to a large body of water that had a very swift current, the water whirling around at a terrific speed. He was afraid to jump across because the land on the other side seemed so small. It looked like the merest speck of green, so small that it had the appearance of a man's eyebrows. Indeed it seemed impossible to jump across but he remembered what the old man had told him and he decided to attempt it. "After all," he thought, "what if anything does happen," and so he closed his eyes and jumped. He landed on the other side and then looked back to see the water. But he could not find it. It was only after looking very carefully that he noticed a very small creek. What he had seen before as a large body of water whirling along at a terrific speed, appeared now as a very small creek. Then he thought to himself: "Perhaps everything that looks difficult to me will in reality be easy," and from this he took courage. Now he felt that he would be able to accomplish what he was seeking.

As he walked along he came to a lodge and in it he found the old man of the previous day with another person just like him. They gave him something to eat and said to him, "Grandson, we will concentrate our attention on the object you have in mind. It is very difficult but since your resolve is so strong you will undoubtedly accomplish it. So go right on and in the next place you will find a friend of ours who will help you. We too shall assist you." Thus they spoke to him.

Then the young man started out again and after a time came to another lodge where he found three old men, two of whom he had seen before, and another. The third one gave him something to eat and spoke to him saying, "Grandson, we are going to help you. You are doing very

7:Radin E-8 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

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well. Now do all that we have told you for otherwise you will fail in your quest."

Then the young man started out again and after a while came to a knoll where he found a large gathering. Indeed the place was evidently a large village and there seemed to be no end to it. But strangely enough no people were to be seen; not a person was there anywhere. There were many bark lodges and he peeped into them but they were all empty. Finally he entered one and there he found four old men, three of whom he had met before and a fourth one. The fourth one spoke to him, "Grandson, you have come to the place you have been seeking. Your wife, however, you will not be able to see. Now do what I tell you if you ever wish to see her. To-night there is going to be a big dance which you will attend. Now remember, never turn around. We will take care of you."

In the evening he heard a drum beaten followed by some noise, then a shout here and there. Again he heard the drum beaten and ever greater was the noise. The four men arose and said, "Come, it is about time to start, for otherwise the lodge will be too crowded when we arrive."

They proceeded to the center of the village where they found a long lodge which they entered. The young man they placed in the middle. As he sat there he heard some whispering, "Wakisha has come; he has followed his wife as far as this; he is here. Yet his is a fruitless task, for never will he attain his quest." Then the voice began to annoy him and tease him. "Why his wife is married. Indeed I am the one she has married."

Soon after, the singing started. It was wonderful. All his relatives came and sang their songs. They were singing about him. They were saying, "Wakisga has come for his wife; Wakisga has come for his wife!" Thus they

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

teased him. All night they did this but when the sun rose they all disappeared. His wife did not know anything about it. He returned with the four men to their lodge and there he was congratulated profusely. "You have done well grandson, you have done well, but to-morrow the test will be more difficult. Try your best."

The next evening he heard the drum beat again and after the fourth time, he entered the lodge with the four men. That whole night he was teased and annoyed. The ghosts did everything in their power to make him talk. All sang and the young man thought it was wonderful, more wonderful and exciting than on the previous night. Finally the ghosts began putting their hands on his head, pulling him down and doing all sorts of things to him. He endured it as best he could and finally the day dawned and they all disappeared. He returned with the four men and they cautioned him against the next night.

The third evening had now come. The drum was beaten and the ghosts responded by cheering. At first it was not loud but then it became louder and louder. They entered the lodge. Immediately the ghosts began to tease him and even the six attendants that had been placed at his disposal to help him by the four old men, could do nothing. The singing began again. The young man sat there covered with the blanket and it was hard for him to resist the temptation of turning around. The force of the drumming was simply terrific; it shook the earth with its vibrations. The ghosts tugged at the blanket of the young man, tried to pull him down and fell all about him. At last morning dawned and as the sun rose, they all disappeared. He went home and the old men said to him, "You have done very well. To-morrow will be the last night. It is going to be very hard. There will be eight of us to help you. But

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

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even then we will be of no avail unless you too do your best."

Toward evening the drum was beaten again and soon the young man walked to the dancing lodge accompanied by the old men. The village had grow rapidly overnight. There were far more ghosts there than on the previous night for they increased just as the number of deaths on earth increased. The dancing-lodge was already crowded when they got there and they were literally almost trodden upon by the ghosts as they entered. As soon as the young man entered, he heard the voice of his wife saying to him, "Well, if you are going to be indifferent to me there was no need of your coming." He almost turned in her direction as he heard this. Then they began to sing. It was glorious. The earth shook from the vibration of their singing. He was pulled down. His wife was most active in this and always he heard her voice. Wrapped in his blanket he sat there. It was jerked off of him again and again, in spite of all that the eight attendants could do. Finally toward morning he grew tired and weakened. The ghosts grabbed him by the ankles and pulled him along the floor. It seemed almost impossible to endure. At last the sun came up and every one disappeared.

"Come let us go now." It was the voice of one of the old men. "Grandson, you have conquered. From now on, however, this shall never happen again, for Earthmaker has not ordained it so. It is only because I and my friends blessed you that you have been successful. Go now and bring his wife," they said to one of the attendants. She was brought to the young man and the old people spoke to them, "I have blessed you both. Go to your homes now." Then he gave them a drum painted with blue clay. "If any one dies, this drum will bring his soul to you and if a

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

soul is about to leave the earth, during illness, this drum will bring it back to you. If you pour tobacco for me and my friends, we will always remember you. Now go home. The ghosts will chase you, for they are wicked. Eight attendants will take you home." Then he gave them some ashes and told them to throw them behind them if necessary.

On their way home they were chased by the ghosts. "Alas, Alas! He has taken our wife away. Let us rescue her!" they shouted. Close they came to the two people but then the young man took the ashes and threw them behind him and the ghosts called to one another saying, "Run away, the ashes will ruin our clothes." They retreated. Again and again this happened but finally the two young people were able to reach the earth.

Coyote Goes on the Warpath

"Come, let us go on the warpath and take Coyote along. He is always up to something foolish, always exaggerating everything he does. Let some one go for him." Then someone went to get him saying, "Coyote, we are going on the warpath. Why don't you come along too?" "Good. Of course I'll go along," and he accompanied the man back to the others. Then each one in turn sang his death song and when it was Coyote's turn he too sang:—

"Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?
Wiyayoho! Wiyayoho!
The little coyote, if he dies, if he dies,
Who will weep for him?"

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Teachings of My Father

such as the Four Nights' Wake, you are called upon to recount your war exploits in behalf of the departed souls, be careful, however, not to claim more than you actually accomplished. If you do, you will cause the soul of the man in whose behalf you are telling it, to stumble [17] in his journey to spirit land. If you tell a falsehood then and exaggerate, you will die before your time, for the spirits, the war-controllers, will hear you. It is indeed a sacred duty to tell the truth on such an occasion. Tell less than you did. The old men say it is wiser.

My son, it is good to die on the warpath. If you die on the warpath, you will not lose consciousness at death. You will be able to do what you please with your soul and it will always remain in a happy condition. If afterwards you wish to become reincarnated as human being, you may do so, or you may take the form of those-who-walk-upon-the-light, the birds, or the form of any animal you please, in short. All these benefits will you obtain if you die on the warpath.

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My son, if you cannot obtain war-blessings, fast at least for position in life. If you fast then, when you get married you will get along well. You will then not have to worry about your having children and your life will be a happy one. If you fast and have the spirits bless you with all that concerns the happiness of your home, then throughout life

[17] According to Winnebago belief the soul of a deceased individual in his journey to spirit land must cross a very slippery, swinging bridge and it is thought that if, during the wake following the man's burial, any of the invited warriors exaggerate their achievements the unfortunate soul will not be able to cross this bridge and will stumble and fall into the abyss of fire over which it is thrown.

§13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows: 159* 764 [767]

You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes 159* 764 775 539

*159 764 775 539 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

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*159 764 [967] [301] [967] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket.

When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 765 795 539 537 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rose and spoke as follows:

To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you. [182]

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that the leader drinks a little water and passes this around too. It is only after pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [95] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

[95] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it.

[The author apparently means note 19. See category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here. 159* 765 537 539

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks: 159*

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me. 765 775 537 539 [424]

Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

Crashing Thunder

159 165 795 537 539

Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests:

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro.

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 165 ● 175 537 539

"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inasmuch as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we do the same.

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha.*

[P. 101]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

I, of course, thought that it must 159*
indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy 196
about it. What I was most eager to see was myself
killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it [775]
was believed happened to the members of the Medicine
Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine
Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a [554]
person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not
to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medi-
cine man.

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge
the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did
was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was 159*
giving the dance arose and delivered a speech: 196
537

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting
for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[38] I
shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we
call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance,
obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the
only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the
road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that
represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to
what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will
help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the
good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel.
If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn [577]
to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman
is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old
people taught us and if you perform the rites of this
ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you.

[38] The person to be initiated is always called nephew. [608]

* 159 156 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

● [715]

* 159 156 796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

ran out. Then they freed him from the sorrowful thoughts that he had had on earth and restored his spirits. 539 776

Soon after that he was taken to Earthmaker. When he came there Earthmaker said, "*Hare*, your heart must have been very sad. Full of sorrow, indeed, must your heart have been for your uncles and your aunts. Now that their lives may be benefited, a holy teaching you are to take back to them. Come, look at this!" There the sky was parted and below on earth toward the south, a long lodge stood revealed. He gazed upon it and as he looked he saw old people with very white hair. "Thus your uncles and aunts are going to be. They will make very much noise in this ceremony. Now look down again! Some help is to be given them. Not one bad spirit will I put there." Then Earthmaker pointed toward the earth again and said, "You are to go back to the earth and put this ceremony before them. Not alone are you to do it but with the aid of your own friends, *Foolish-one*, *Turtle*, *Bladder*, and *He-who-wears-human-heads-as-earrings*. Your grandmother, the Earth, will help you too. If one of your uncles and [715] aunts performs the ceremony properly he will have more than one life. I shall always keep the door through which he may return to earth open to him. When he becomes reincarnated he can live wherever he wishes. He can return to the earth as a human being, or join the various bands of spirits, or finally become an animal under earth." Now all this Earthmaker did for us.

Then *Hare* returned to the earth and to his grandmother. "What I have tried to obtain for my uncles and my aunts, that now I have brought back with me," he said. "Grandson, how is it possible to make them immortal as ourselves? As the world was created so it must remain." "Grandmother, I say that my uncles and aunts will choose their

§19. *The Effect of a Pretended Blessing*

I was now drinking heavily all the time and I began to boast of being a holy man. I claimed that I had been blessed by certain spirits and I made this claim again and again. Of course this was all a lie, for I had never felt a stirring of any kind within me. I made the claim because I had heard others doing it. Generally I made this claim when I was just about drunk, just on the verge of getting boisterous but still vaguely conscious of what I was saying. Then I would say, for instance, that I had been blessed by a Grizzly-spirit, that he had blessed me with the power of being uncontrollable, that he had taught me certain songs. These I would then sing at the top of my voice. I used to exert all the power I had to imitate a grizzly bear. The bystanders would try to hold me but it always required a large number of men to do so. Now I thought this exhibition of mine an act worthy of praise.

After that I began to claim that I had been blessed by many spirits. I made the claim at one time that I was really the reincarnation of one of the benevolent giant spirits and that my name was *Good-heart*, that I was now living as a human being among men. Such was my claim and people believed me.

Once when I was on one of my drinking sprees I

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they
795 eat peyote, they destroy their souls, and death to them
● [795] will mean complete extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the saliva will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. This is what death will mean to them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit who lives below. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. This bad spirit will certainly seize them."

For all these reasons none of us liked it. However, my parents sent me the money for the trip, and my brother and sisters told me to go. Just before I started, my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened [593] most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating, in this peyote." I promised, and then started out for Nebraska.

When I arrived in Nebraska I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters, and they said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and that is why they sent for you, that you too might eat. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. They also told me of a number of other bad things these peyote people were supposed to have done. I felt ashamed, and I wished I had not come in the first place. Immediately after that I told these people that I was going to eat the peyote.

Soon after that I met my father, mother and sister.

796 575 158 out design. There he lay without motion or sign of life, and the dance was resumed around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 575 783 They told the Judge before they admitted him to this ceremony that while he was there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to

[841] [843] [273] witness these ceremonies, no woman in the menstrual period, no woman pregnant or recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings

[756] in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.

796 575 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the evening and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies

[755] and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The

[171] Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, except a small hole or chimney was kept open

[775] from the top down into the house. When

764 the Judge asked what this meant they told
775 him that it was for the spirit to pass through in going out and in.

771 He never found among them during the long period of his intercourse any evidence of sun worship, and thinks it fell far short of that in which I agree with him.

115 This morning I had a further conversation with Judge Walker, who is a regular medicine man of the Wyandottes. He says
776 the name of the Spirit of Medicine among
171 the Wyandottes is Mon-ane-tow, who is the same as the Manitou of the Ojibways etc. That this spirit of Medicine is a good spirit etc. He says that the initiations described
796 by Judge Williams are in the presence only
575 of medicine men and women. The people of the tribe are not allowed to be present. That both men and women are members, and are regularly initiated before they can become members. That no oath of secrecy is required, as the Indian knows nothing about oaths, but they initiate on the honor of the man and of the woman, choosing such only as are known to be of good character for integrity. That the Society and its pro-
[755] ceedings are secret, except these ceremonies which medicine men perform on patients for their cure.

796 Walker says that these ceremonies pro-
575 ceed upon the idea that a violent shock of
828 the nervous system, which prostrates it en-
158 tirely will also prostrate or relax the hold of the disease. They know by experience that by fasting and steaming they so arouse and excite a well person as to produce a shock which will throw him to the earth. This is done at the ceremony of initiation which Judge Williams described. It is done by nervous excitement, and Indian faith in these ceremonies, and is repeated over every initiate as a proof of the possession by medicine men of this marvellous power. He

105 at least, demand an equal exchange. The crux of the question then
771 was, who is to evaluate the human gift? The answer of the mat-
776 ter-of-fact man was both, the spirits and man. For that reason, he contended, risk and danger must always inhere in the human-god relationship and there was little that could be done about it except to take every precaution one could. This must be accepted. Such was life. Suffering and tragedy loomed large there and the relationship between the deities and man was part of it. The gods could, at best, only help man to keep his balance and maintain his sense of proportion. It had always been a human problem and always would remain one. A whole class of literature, the worak, dealt with this theme. The picture it painted was not too optimistic.

105 It was the priest-thinker who was the optimist. He attempted a
771 time-honored solution of philosophers, that of giving man some of
776 the attributes of divinity, in other words, a greater sense of fixity and
812 security, a greater degree of permanence, and some possibility of foreknowledge.

Winnebago philosophers seem to have attacked this problem repeatedly and suggested a number of solutions. According to one theory, gods and men had been equal in the beginning. At that time all existent beings could transform themselves at will into the one or the other *ad infinitum*. When, however, the world was to take its present shape, all the beings had to transform themselves permanently into the one or the other, into gods or into human beings.

Thus, at one time, man had actually partaken of the divine. This
105 was, of course, only divinity in retrospect, and was not of great
771 importance in developing divine stature for man now. Winnebago
775 thinkers, instead, fell back upon two universally accepted folkloristic beliefs, that in the immortality of the soul and that in reincarnation. The first, however, implied a complete and irretrievable separation from the earth and human beings. To be of any value in the task of developing divine traits for man, the soul, the permanent component of man which left him at death had to be bound, in some way, to the earth. This could best be done by reinterpreting the nature of death. This was done by having it merely imply no loss of personal consciousness at all but simply a temporary stumbling.

There existed an unbroken continuum. No more, however, could be done in the way of reinterpretation. The philosopher could not do away with the palpable fact that the body of a deceased person remained motionless and decayed. The ghost, conscious though he remained and fully aware of what was going on around him, was unable to establish contact with the living or they with him and he always remained jealous of the living and not too kindly disposed to them. The continuum predicated was, consequently, reduced to a mere shadow.

With the belief in reincarnation, the priest-thinker could do much more. Here a kind of continuum already existed. The priest-thinker had merely to develop the concept of a continuing consciousness. Thus the first attribute of divinity, permanence, was on its way to accomplishment. This permanence was further enhanced and fixed by having an individual born again into the very same family and reliving, in every detail, his previous existence.

In the myth giving the origin of the Four Nights' Wake over the body of the dead, this is the main and insistent theme. Thus the second attribute of divinity, unchangeability, was on its way to accomplishment. The two other traits of divinity, foreknowledge and omnipresence, presented greater difficulties for their attainment. The latter, however, was not of great significance in the Winnebago concept of divinity. The former was. Here the belief in reincarnation offered little help. Recourse had therefore to be made to shamanistic practices and magic proper where both beliefs were quite common. On the whole the Winnebago priest-thinker, particularly in his greatest triumph, the Medicine Rite, eschewed magical practices and that is why little really is ever said about foretelling events. Yet it is significant that the very first story in the Medicine Rite and the one which purports to be the account of how the Rite was begun by a man, makes this foreknowledge of the future, the basic gift that a prospective member received. How fundamental it remained is proved by the fact that when the Peyote Cult was introduced among the Winnebago, the two gifts the peyote bestowed were the foretelling of the future and the ability to transport oneself anywhere by mere thought.